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3

The Unity of the Antipodes

In the preceding section the two antipodal elements of the Balinese cosmos were for clarity's sake set over against each other as separate entities. In reality, however, they cannot be conceived of as separate. They are complements, created to form one entity together. It is that completion, that unity of antipodes, which is constantly striven for.

This can be seen, for example, in the sacrificial feast before 'bringing the land to silence', Nyĕpi.[14] Sacrifices are made to demons at that time, but an altar is also erected for the sun god. Likewise, at the Galungan festival[15] offerings are made to the souls in the *kĕlod* sphere, but also to those in the *kaja* sphere; at the burial ground, but also in the household temple.[16] The festival might be described as an All Souls' Day on which one also celebrates All Saints'. In the temples the powers of both categories are combined in a single complex. The temple of Tĕrunyan, for example, has three parts, with one of them, the most *kaja*, called Pura Gunung Agung, and another, the most *kĕlod*, called Pura Maospait (probably equivalent to Majapahit), a name that belongs in the same category as the sea and the west.[17]

All this also implies that worship and exorcism are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. The *kĕlod* forces are undesirable: that is apparent from their classification in the category of death. But the world picture is inconceivable without them, just as inconceivable as life without death.

Preoccupation with the unity of life can also be detected in the folk tales regarding the Half One.[18] These tales cannot be viewed as myths in the technical sense of the word – as they can be in other places, where they appear to be considered among the initiation myths.[19] But there is no doubt that the motif has a significance on Bali in the connection under consideration here. This is confirmed by the tale's popularity, which is apparent from the fact that it exists in a number of versions. All the versions tell about a boy born with only half a body – often because his

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181 538 mother has transgressed a taboo, has 'gone outside the order of things'. His father is usually a supernatural being. When he has grown up, the Half One makes an attempt to become whole. He sets out to seek his fortune, and after having gone in an easterly or *kaja*-easterly direction and having climbed upward, all the while experiencing many adventures, he discovers his father or another divine figure (whose nature and function will be considered below).[10] The Half One explains to him his wish to become whole. Sometimes he also asks for instruction, for example regarding the proper rites for offerings in connection with farming. His wishes are granted, and he returns to earth as a whole person, resplendent with beauty, usually to find a lovely bride, and often also a kingdom.

181 812 In the same way that personal happiness is reserved only for the complete person in the tale, all prosperity in this world is reserved solely for those who take both parts of the cosmos into consideration, seeking after a proper attitude towards both of them.

4

Tripartite Division

772 The Balinese countryside lies closed in between the mountains and the sea. Between the upper and the nether world lies the *mădyapada* or intermediate sphere, also called the *mĕrtyapada*, the world of mortals. Between the gods and the demons is man. Between birth and death comes life.

The transition from a bipartite division to such a tripartite one is not clearcut. The intermediate element shares in both the extremes, and the two touch each other in that element. It can be viewed as dissolving into the two parts, in which case there is a bipartition, but it can also be given autonomy and a function of its own, in which case the bipartition becomes tripartition. Perhaps the difference may be described in this way: the bipartite division emphasizes only the cosmos while in the tripartite division the human element in the cosmos, the microcosmos within the macrocosmos, is also emphasized.

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the *wedas* as its holy book and Buddha as its prophet. It would therefore be the best thing to recognize and protect the religion of the Balinese, like that of the animists in Tapanuli and other groups, but only within its own territory. If this is not done, the writer argued, our people, who still have little religious discernment, will be at the mercy of 'the religions of ignorance' (the term for pre-Moslem heathendom in Arabia), with their temples and idols, and in that way the clock will be set back a thousand years. Again the reply was not long in coming. In it, with an appeal to the "freedom of every resident to profess his own religion and to worship according to his religion and belief" set forth in the provisional constitution, the author protested against the proposal of restricting the Balinese religion to Bali: like Islam and Christianity, the Balinese religion should have the right to spread its wings.[10]

Such an appeal to the constitution was only natural. But one of the five principles in the constitution's preamble specifically states that the Indonesian Republic is "based on the recognition of the Divine Omnipotence ..." (so runs the official translation; the Indonesian term is *ke-Tuhanan yang Maha Esa*, which can also be translated as "the fact of God being one"). Interpreted strictly, then, this principle is a rejection of polytheism as well as atheism. For many Balinese such a wording says too much, just as it says too little for many a Moslem.

In these circumstances it is understandable that the Balinese have tended to give emphasis to the figure of Sang Hyang Widi. At the same time, that emphasis complies with the inclination to make religion more an affair of the head and the heart than of outward, extensive (and thus expensive) ceremonies, for in principle there is no offering or temple cult for Widi.

3

Bali and India

If the view of the origin and development of Balinese culture presented in Chapter Two is correct, then that culture is a duality,

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with the autochthonous cultural heritage influenced by Hinduism, whether the Hinduism was introduced directly from India or indirectly, *via* Hindu-Javanism. Taken as a whole the culture must be called Hindu-Balinese, with a strong emphasis on 'Balinese'. As was seen above,[11] however, in leading circles there has always been a tendency to place much, if not all, emphasis on 'Hindu'. This overestimation of the share which Hinduism has had in the whole of Bali's culture has maintained itself down through the centuries, despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that until very recently there had been practically no contact of a religious or cultural nature between Bali and India.

Nowadays the Balinese has the opportunity to come to know other cultures and religions. In this situation it is only natural for interest to be focused sharply on India. And there is much in India that is attractive to the modern Balinese, even apart from historical ties. If he thinks that his own religion is in too weak a position from a secular point of view, Hinduism is the religion of a nation that is playing an increasingly important rôle on the world stage. Moreover, though it can hardly be called monotheistic, it has forced Islam to grant it a certain amount of recognition: under Moslem rulers Hindus often enjoyed the same relative privileges as those the Koran grants to the 'people of the book', Jews and Christians. And the Balinese who thinks his own religion too 'primitive' or too outward can find a great deal that is attractive to him in Hindu religious philosophy, asceticism, and ethics. Hinduism is, moreover, a recognized world religion, and its philosophy is studied and admired everywhere. It has been able to maintain itself in the face of the intruding West, in a spiritual as well as a material sense.

In the last century many locally determined, closed cultures and religions, faced by the threatening force of the West, sought refuge in Islam, the greatest Oriental world religion. Bali, however, has always had enough religious and cultural self-confidence that no inclination arose to seek refuge elsewhere. Yet even if that self-confidence were to slacken now or in the near future, there would be little possibility of a flight-to-Islam, for most Balinese

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consider conversion to a religion of such a completely different character as Islam – or for that matter Christianity – to be an abandonment of their own nature, of the Balinese way of life which in their eyes is indissolubly linked with Balinese religion. They are aware that as Moslems they would no longer be able to fulfil properly their responsibilities towards the dead. Such a thing means to them a break with their past and a sense of guilt towards the progenitors of their family and the founders of their community. Accepting some form of Hinduism does not have to mean such a break, however, and so would be easier to accept than conversion to Islam.

Among persons with an interest in India there are various shades of opinion. Some of them expect from Hindu examples a great deal, and in various cases practically everything, towards the strengthening of their own religion. Reading or listening to what they have to say, one might almost forget that there is a Hindu-*Balinese* religion, with its temples and ceremonies, its offerings and rituals. Such an attitude is reflected in various books published in recent years. The books treat subjects of religious philosophy or ethics, worship, meditation, and yoga exercises, all of them in the Hindu vein. Aside from quotations and formulas in Sanskrit (sometimes provided with a translation, sometimes not), the language is ordinary, contemporary Balinese or Indonesian. The books, then, are directed towards a general public – a modern, democratic trait contradictory to the traditional and aristocratic esoteric secrecy, which is better served by writing in a difficult, antiquated, and literary language.

Writings of this Hinduizing type make up the majority of the recent Balinese religious books and tracts which have come to my attention. To conclude from this that the adherents of that trend also constitute the majority of the Balinese people, or at any rate of the Balinese modernists, would be premature, however. Many people do not tend to place such one-sided emphasis on the non-indigenous. Though they do attempt to create new ties with India, or to strengthen the old ones, it is not without losing sight of the intrinsic character of the autochthonous religion and the typical

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differences between Bali and India. The present reality of Hindu-Balinism is taken as basis, but in it Hindu characteristics are brought to the fore, and it is interpreted in a Hindu spirit.

Such an attitude is to be found, for instance, in a booklet on the Hindu-Balinese holidays.[13] Reading it, one will certainly not forget that there is a Balinese religion. The author takes as his basis the existing, generally celebrated holidays of the Balinese calendar, as they are described in a study in this volume.[13] A special emphasis is given to Galungan, "the national Balinese holiday", and the institution of that holiday, the offerings and ceremonies, and the formulas and prayers to be recited are discussed. The latter are given in Sanskrit, without translations, which fact makes it clear that the Hindu aspect is far from being neglected. That is also obvious when the author turns to the next festival after Galungan, Kuningan, which he describes as:

> ... a ceremony for the well-being and worship of the purified souls of the *ksatriya* heroes who acquired merit by liberating the island of Bali from brutal subjection to the demon king Mayadanawa. These are, then, the spirits of the *ksatriya* heroes – Aryans from India who came to Bali at the request of the early Balinese inhabitants, – both the spirits of those who fell in battle and those who died later. A small share of their descendants went back to Jambudwipa [India]; most of them remained permanently on the island of Bali. These Aryans ... are considered as divine beings or as incarnations of the gods.[14]

For this author, Nirartha's *Usana Bali* of sixteenth-century Gelgel[15] seems to have lost nothing of its significance.

Bogor, Indonesia, August, 1957

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lasted several days and roused interest even in remote parts of Bali. A moderate tone dominated the celebration, at least to all appearances. Invitations to attend the commemoration were sent to the regional and central Balinese authorities. Among the motives preventing the ruler of Badung (of the Pamĕchutan family) from being present at the ceremony, the old controversy between the dynasties of Badung and Mĕngwi will in all probability have played a rôle.

Everywhere on Bali history has deep roots, though it rarely leaves clear traces. Factual historiography is alien to the Balinese, and there is a tendency to mythologize important historical personages and events. Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that the after-effects of certain events are to be felt for so long. In the Mĕngwi area the system of state temples helps to keep the memory of the days of political and dynastic glory alive. A more or less latent but quite general feeling of political discontent is still to be found in the area. Before the war this feeling found expression in certain nuances in governability, and it is not out of the question that such matters will also make themselves felt in the growing national and political consciousness of the present day.

It has already been pointed out that in popular parlance the relation between the state temples and the dynasty of Mĕngwi is given expression in the statement that the sanctuaries 'belong' to the erstwhile royal family. Nonetheless the Abiansĕmal district head is recognized as the person directly in charge of maintenance of the temple, and it is considered natural that the reigning family of Badung should participate in ceremonies at the dynastic sanctuaries of the former house of Mĕngwi. There is a clear realization that in this relationship between temple and dynasty a tie is involved of a higher order than can be expressed in such terms as 'property' or 'ownership'.

A temple becomes a state sanctuary because the ruler participates in its cult. As a result of that participation the sanctuary is given a sort of legitimation in the eyes of everyone under the authority of the ruler – also of those who belong to upper castes, for the ruler, in the exercise of his functions, is considered as the

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538 771 leading temples (*sadkayangan*) of Bali, the sanctuary of Bĕsakih at the southern foot of Gunung Agung. The legend goes on to relate that Siwa, in his manifestation as Batara Guru, descended for a visit to the temple, followed by 'the gods of all the directions'. The 'gods of all the directions' is a reference to the eight guardians, and the specific link with Batara Guru suggests a certain relationship with ancestor worship. The tie between Majapahit and the largest state sanctuary on Bali, the symbol of the unity of the land, is also significant.

771 643 Seen against this background the *nawa-sanga* acquires more meaning as a royal emblem or attribute. Phenomenologically the ruler is viewed as the receptacle of divine power on earth: he is not only the representative of the deity but an incarnation, especially of Wisnu, while with respect to the realm over which he is placed he is the maintainer of the cosmic order, and as such the *lingga* of the world. As the *lingga* of the world he appears in the aspect of Siwa on earth, and just as Siwa is the centre from which the eight guardians of the directions emanate, in the same way the ruler is the centre from which the secular power in its various aspects of rule and administration emanates.

181 643 It is within the framework of this pattern of thought that one must consider the fact that in 1947 the federal state of East Indonesia adopted the *nawa-sanga* as the emblem for its presidential flag, while on Bali the black-white-and-red, symbolic of the trinity, is used for the flags on the automobiles of the autonomous princes. In the context in which they are used, both symbols express the same thing: the authority which maintains order and makes itself felt from the centre to the periphery. In this context the trinity is considered as an abbreviated form of the *nawa-sanga* representing in it the line from north (Wisnu) over east (Iswara) to south (Brahma).

792 769 643 After this long digression let us return to the *chandis* in Pura Taman Ayun. We have already seen that there is a connection between the *chandi* (sometimes also called *prasada* or *lingga*) and the royal ancestor cult given expression in the *paibon*. After the

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is called a *pulangan*. Each *pulangan* has a *klihan desa* at its head, who in that function is called *klihan pulangan;* in each *pulangan* there are also a *klihan luanan*, functioning as *subak*, and two *tambĕlapus*, with the office of *saya*. Despite the fact that there is no *de ngijĕng* at present, one of the groups, now eighteen men strong, is called the *pulangan ijĕng*.

The other five *pulangans* meet at the compound of their *subak*, but the *pulangan ijĕng* convenes in the *bale agung*, where the now-invisible *ijĕng* is considered to be seated beside the deity, and a *sĕmbah* is made to him before the meeting begins. Each of the *pulangans* has its own meeting day. A substitute can be sent to the meeting, provided the substitute is a *desa* member. At the meetings it is discussed how best to perform the duties charged upon the *pulangan* by the *desa* meeting or council. The *pulangans* are responsible for maintaining the *desa* buildings, in particular the *bale agung;* among the tasks involved are those of re-roofing the smaller buildings and of keeping the *bale agung* and the *pura kubu langlang* clean. If an important decision is to be taken in the *desa*, all six of the *pulangans* are assembled together.

Anyone who gives careful consideration to this whole administrative complex will have to admit that mutual consultation would seem to have been given a larger rôle in Tĕnganan than perhaps anywhere else in the world, and that there is not the least reason to fear a reign of terror on the part of the *desa* council. This becomes all the more evident when it is recalled that the *desa* administration is in turn closely interconnected with those of the young people's associations and the *banjars*, and that the administration of justice in the *desa* is surrounded by an ample number of guarantees.

The *desa* of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan has a large source of income at its disposal. It is a principle that all property, movable and immovable alike, is held under the terms of the *druwe desa*, the Tĕngananese right of disposal. If the *desa* is in need of something it has only to take it. If a guest of the *desa* must be presented a meal, there is always a sufficient store of rice in the *desa* granary,

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while the first chicken to hand may be caught and prepared to set before the guest, without a protest from the owner. Naturally, an effort is made not always to confiscate the same person's property in order to meet the *desa*'s needs, and no more may ever be taken than is strictly necessary.

The right of disposal over the ground finds recognition in the contribution of a hundred doits which non-Tĕngananese are required to pay in the month of Desta if they collect windfall fruit of certain protected trees (*kayu larangan*) in the *desa* territory. Members of the *desa* themselves pay thirty-three doits per year for the *kayu larangan* on their compounds.

In the month of Kapitu every compound in Tĕnganan except those in the *banjar* of Pande has to provide an *achi n karang*, an offering which consists of a quantity of prepared rice eight hundred doits in weight, plus sixty-six doits in cash. Failure to comply leads to a fine of two thousand doits, which is used for buying pigs. There is also a *sawah* tax, *pĕti*, which is collected at the end of the month of Kalima, after which the taxpayers are given a feast.

Some levies are not paid by all inhabitants each year, but only by part of them. For this purpose the inhabitants are divided in groups called *dampukans*. Among the levies provided *dampukan* by *dampukan* in rotation are a pastry offering for the purification ceremony in the month of Kaulu and an amount of uncooked rice, coconuts, and other produce in the month of Kapitu. The decorations for the offering *bales* are also provided by each of the *dampukans* in turn, since the temples have no ceremonial cloths or other property of their own.

A large part of the *desa*'s income is derived from the *chariks achi*, the complexes of communally owned offering *sawahs* left over after the members of the *desa* have each received their proper amount of ground (*charik bukti*). These *sawahs* are rented out on shares. The yield falling to a core villager from his *bukti* also reverts to the *desa* if he has unseasonably lost his membership.

Another important source of income is the amount collected in fines. The fines are very heavy, and some have to be paid in instalments for the rest of one's life. All fines are paid at the *desa*

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624 421 In conclusion, then, it can be said that the income of the *desa* officials is strictly limited, while the entire income of the *desa* is devoted to the *desa* offerings on the basis of a detailed budget. Hence I fail to see how anyone could accuse the village authorities of self-interest in punishing *adat* transgressions.

2

The Police

181 626 Every offence committed within the village territory is looked upon as prejudicial to the community, and for this reason the *desa* officials take action against such offences even when no complaint has been lodged.

It should be pointed out that every member of the *desa* is expected to look after the welfare of the community, and hence that all villagers must act as *tĕlik tanĕm*, 'village spies'.[4] Anyone reporting a transgression to the *bahan* is given a reward from the village treasury amounting to half of the fine placed on the transgression. The name of the informant remains secret. If the accused denies the charge, he is required to swear on oath to that effect beneath the tamarind tree.

625 In two particular fields there are functionaries with special policing powers. Supervision over the *kayu larangan*, various types of trees which it is prohibited to cut down or pick the fruits or nuts of, is exercised by the *kĕbayan tahak*, who must give permission for each exception to the prohibition. On the eastern mountain slope there are an unusual sort of forest rangers, the *lĕlipi sĕlĕm bukit*, 'king cobras', who guard against clandestine opening up of land or picking of fruits.

3

Judicature

69 None of the Tĕngananese village institutions has been so disrupted in the past decade as the uniquely organized and prudently operating judicial system. Let us, then, begin by describing the

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CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

LIKE A CONTINUAL UNDER-SEA BALLET, the pulse of life in Bali moves with a measured rhythm reminiscent of the sway of marine plants and the flowing motion of octopus and jellyfish under the sweep of a submarine current. There is a similar correlation of the elegant and decorative people with the clear-cut, extravagant vegetation; of their simple and sensitive temperament with the fertile land.

No other race gives the impression of living in such close touch with nature, creates such a complete feeling of harmony between the people and the surroundings. The slender Balinese bodies are as much a part of the landscape as the palms and the bread-fruit trees, and their smooth skins have the same tone as the earth and as the brown rivers where they bathe; a general colour scheme of greens, greys, and ochres, relieved here and there by bright-coloured sashes and tropical flowers. The Balinese belong in their environment in the same way that a humming-bird or an orchid belongs in a Central American jungle, or a steel-worker belongs in the grime of Pittsburgh. It was depressing to watch our Balinese friends transplanted to the Paris Fair. They were cold and miserable there in the middle of the summer, shivering in heavy overcoats or wrapped in blankets like red Indians, but they were transformed into normal, beautiful Balinese as soon as they returned from their unhappy experience.

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crowd of semi-nude Balinese of all ages, one cannot help wondering what the comparison would be should men and women of our cities suddenly appear in the streets nude above the waist.

Their character is easy, courteous, and gentle, but they can be intense and can show strong temper if aroused. They are gay and witty; there is nothing that a Balinese loves more than a good joke, especially if it is off-colour, and even children make ribald puns that are applauded by grown-ups. It is perhaps in their mad sense of humour, the spirit of Rabelaisian fun with which they handle even such forbidding subjects as religion and death, that lies the key to their character. The adjective "childish" or "childlike," so often misapplied to primitive peoples, does not suit the Balinese, because even the children show a sophistication often lacking in more civilized grown-ups. They are resourceful and intelligent, with acute senses and quick minds. Once, when I mentioned the goodness of a very short friend, the immediate reply was: "How could he be otherwise, he is so small!" One day Spies's monkey got loose and ran all over the house upsetting and breaking things. All the Balinese boys chased the monkey, but it let them come to within a few feet of it and then leaped out of reach onto the roof or a tree. The only one who did not join in the chase was Rapung, our teacher of Balinese, because he was a newcomer to the household and the monkey snarled and sprung at him every time Rapung passed near where it was tied: they hated each other. When it became plain that the monkey could not be captured so easily, one of the boys had the bright idea of having everybody pretend to attack Rapung, imitating the monkey, making faces, and squealing at him. Soon the monkey forgot that he himself was persecuted and joined in the attack, but when he was most aggressive someone grabbed him.

The pride of the Balinese has not permitted the development of one of the great professions of the East: there are no beggars in Bali. But this unique distinction is now threatened by tourists who lure boys and girls with dimes to take their pictures, and

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lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neighbours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans complain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as "the only way to deal with natives."

Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

The villages are organized into compact boards or councils, independent of other villages. Every married man — that is, every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

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young Brahmanas from Mas who turn out intricate statues of hard wood or with equal ability paint a picture, design a temple gate, or act and dance.

Painting, sculpture, and playing on musical instruments are arts by tradition reserved to the men, but almost any woman can weave beautiful stuffs and it is curious that the most intriguing textiles, those in which the dyeing and weaving process is so complicated that years of labour are required to complete a scarf, are made by the women of Tenganan, an ancient village of six hundred souls who are so conservative that they will not maintain connections with the rest of Bali and who punish with exile whoever dares to marry outside the village.

The main artistic activity of the women goes into the making of beautiful offerings for the gods. These are intricate structures of cut-out palm-leaf, or great pyramids of fruit, flowers, cakes, and even roast chickens, arranged with splendid taste, masterpieces of composition in which the relative form of the elements employed, their texture and colour are taken into consideration. I have seen monuments, seven feet in height, made entirely of roasted pig's meat on skewers, decorated into shapes cut out of the waxy fat of the pig and surmounted with banners and little umbrellas of the lacy stomach tissues, the whole relieved by the vivid vermilion of chili-peppers. Although women of all ages have always taken part in the ritual offering dances, in olden times only little girls became dancers and actresses; but today beautiful girls take part in theatrical performances, playing the parts of princesses formerly performed exclusively by female impersonators.

The effervescence of artistic activity and the highly developed æsthetic sense of the population can perhaps be explained by a natural urge to express themselves, combined with the important factor of leisure resulting from well-organized agricultural cooperatism. However, the most important element for the development of a popular culture, with primitive as well as refined characteristics, was perhaps the fact that the Balinese did not

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181 517 565 permit the centralization of the artistic knowledge in a special intellectual class. In old Balinese books on ethics, like the *Niti Sastra*, it is stated that a man who is ignorant of the writings is like a man who has lost his speech, because he shall have to remain silent during the conversation of other men. Furthermore, it was a requirement for the education of every prince that he should know mythology, history, and poetry well enough; should learn painting, woodcarving, music, and the making of musical instruments; should be able to dance and to sing in Kawi, the classic language of literature. There is hardly a prince who does not possess a good number of these attributes, and those deprived of talent themselves support artists, musicians, and actors as part of their retinue. Ordinary people look upon their feudal lords as models of conduct and do not hesitate to imitate them, learning their poetry, dancing, painting, and carving in order to be like them.

Thus, not only the aristocracy can create informal beauty, but a commoner may be as finished an artist as the educated nobleman, although he may be an agriculturist, a tradesman, or even a coolie. Our host in Bali was a prince and a musician, but there [533] were others of the common class who were among the finest musicians of the neighbourhood. Of the leaders of the famous orchestras of our district, one was a coolie, another a goldsmith, and a third a chauffeur.

532 Until a few years ago the Balinese did not paint pictures or make statues without some definite purpose. It has often been stated that there are no words in the Balinese language for "art" and "artist." This is true and logical; making a beautiful offering, and carving a stone temple gate, and making a set of masks are tasks of equal æsthetic importance, and although the artist is regarded as a preferred member of the community, there is no separate class of artists, and a sculptor is simply a "carver" or a figure-maker, and the painter is a picture-maker. A dancer [535] is a *legong*, a *djanger*, and so forth – the names of the dances they perform.

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and mood through colour: night scenes in beautifully harmonized colours that are decidedly a step forward from the limitations of the pure vermilion, blue, and ochre of the old-style paintings. Besides the scenes from daily life, the modern Balinese painters paint episodes of mythology in which the general conception has become freed from the old conventional rules. There are the same elegant gods, beautiful princesses, and other fantastic characters, painted among jungles in which every tree and plant is drawn with each leaf carefully outlined and shaded, jungles that have been wrongly compared with those of the douanier Rousseau, but which resemble more the drawing of Beardsley and Persian or Indian miniatures, none of which the Balinese artists have ever seen. Favourite subjects are from the Balinese Æsop's fables, the *tantri* stories, in which the artists find amusing incidents between animals living in the tapestry-like forests of fantastic leaves and flowers.

The birth of individualism rescued Balinese painting from its latent state and placed it on the same level as the emancipated sculpture — new arts that, considering the searching intensity and liveliness of the Balinese spirit, will perhaps develop unpredictable achievements.

The Crafts: Perhaps one of the most charming qualities of the Balinese mentality is the happy combination of the primitive simplicity in which they live, with a highly refined and rather decadent taste. The Balinese are a people who retain a close contact with the soil, living practically out of doors in simple thatched houses, using artifacts belonging to a primitive culture and going ordinarily almost nude; but they gather for festivals in elaborate buildings of carved stone and dress in silks and gold to enjoy themselves, worshipping the forces of nature by means of flowers, good food, music, dancing, and works of art that only the most highly developed technical skill can produce.

In sharp contrast with their super-elaborated sculpture, painting, and dramatic arts, are the purely functional objects of daily

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the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Simg bani*," when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[180] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative off the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beauttiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvestt time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *lamak*, a palm leaf panel with cut outt designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantiile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the ffeminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modificatioms, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[181]

[180] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.

[181] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

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THE BALINESE TEMPER*

JANE BELO
New York City

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In examining the psychological character of a people such as the Balinese, who number more than a million, we have no choice but to take up one by one the simple habits of the individual which are common to the people as a whole, noting the patterns occurring in the adult, and how the child by his early conditioning is molded into a personality essentially Balinese. If, in an effort to cast light upon problems of personality, one wished to set forth special traits, special individual developments to be found among the Balinese, one would find it difficult to make one's self understood unless some picture had previously been drawn of the people's psychological nature, as evidenced in the general character of their ways of behaving. For what are among them universal traits might be mistaken for individual deviations. Therefore it seems advisable to describe the general trend of personality development against a background suggesting the tenor of the life, the modes of feeling and of activity, which may range from a subdued stillness to states of exalted animation without being excluded from the habitual and universal trends.

By the Balinese temper I mean the nature and ways of the people as a whole. In my presentation individual examples will serve as illustrations of the general trends, and in certain cases indicate deviations from them. I believe that the Balinese exemplify by their behavior how closely the individual may be required to conform to patterns laid down by the social group, with what rhythmic and unstrained ease he may, under such laws, accomplish the tasks exacted of him, and in what apparent contentment he may exist, when no problem is without an answer in his scheme of things. A description of the making of such adjustments, and the formation of the personality

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* This study is based on four years' acquaintance with the people, during which I resided with my husband, Colin McPhee, in a wholly Balinese village, making studies of the arts, music, legends, and rituals in their intimate correlation with Balinese life.

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through them, may be of interest because of the foreignness of the setting, of the society in which they are made. My method will consist in an enumeration of a series of patterns of behavior, beginning with the simplest, which give to the outsider his initial impression. The simplest passages of behavior differ from our own no less than do the highly complex thought mechanisms, so closely interlocked with them. Ordinary behavior, the way of walking, of sitting, of greeting acquaintances, of taking nourishment, speech-habits, gesture, and facial expression, all these differ from our own, and all are founded not only on the way of life, but on the people's conception of it, and of the place of the individual in relation to it. And conversely, the higher concepts are built up out of component units, the simpler habits of ordinary behavior. In a discussion of the Balinese temper we shall have to consider both phases, and we shall find them often interdependent and inseparable.

Bearing and Pace

To a Westerner, the most striking characteristic in the ordinary behavior of a Balinese is the absolute poise and balance of his bearing, noticeable in his posture, his walk, his slightest gesture. All mature men and women have this poise, and even the small children develop it with remarkable rapidity. Almost never does one see a stooped or curving back even among the old people, and clumsiness and lack of coördination are rare. The impression is that of a nation favored with an unusually fine physique, with natural dignity and ease in every motion. But together with the impression of ease, one remarks a sort of *carefulness* in the bearing, as if each foot were placed in its appointed place, each turn of the head or flick of the wrist calculated not to disturb an equilibrium delicately set up, and hanging somewhere unseen within the individual. One learns that the Balinese is never unconscious of his position in space, in relation to *kadja*,[1] North, which is the direction of the mountains, and *kelod*, South, the direction of the sea; and in relation to his position above the ground, which should not be higher than that of his social superiors.

[1] The mountains which form the central part of the island are conceived as the abode of the gods, and the highest and most holy place. The sea is by contrast the lowest place, and although there is also a god of the sea, the sea and the seashore are conceived as unholy, and all that is filthy must be cast there, or into the rivers which carry their own filth down to the sea. As the present observations were made in South Bali, for the sake of convenience *kadja* is translated North and *kelod* South. On the other side of the mountains, in North Bali, *kadja* means South, and *kelod* North, since the relative position of the inhabitants to the mountains is reversed. *Kangin*, East, and *kauh*, West, remain the same in both localities.

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superior. It would seem that a great deal of the "carefulness" in the manner of the Balinese springs from his habit of adjusting his position according to the laws of his cosmology and his social group. The other great factor is the habitual avoidance of any impulsive movement which could shock or otherwise momentarily disturb the feeling of well-being in the body.

The individual Balinese moves slowly, with deliberation. Westerners, seeing for the first time films representing the Balinese at their daily tasks, are immediately struck by the slow tempo of their actions. If a man seated in one pavilion of his house-court suddenly wishes to show something which is in another pavilion, he will rise to his feet and saunter across the intervening space, quite as if he were going for a casual stroll. He will never hurry, as we would, eager to grasp the object which has come to mind. There is plenty of time, and to hurry would be unusual, unnecessary, and stupid—a waste of energy. Walking along the roads, each individual progresses with an even, measured step. The custom is to walk in single file, probably because the trails are narrow, and even today when the gravel covered motor roads are used for long distance walking, there is only a narrow track at the side which is comfortable to bare feet. Rarely does one individual walking in the single file pass another, for all go at the same rhythmic pace. This pace seems to be kept over long distances as well as short, and is hardly influenced when the walker carries a medium load (about forty pounds). Women carry such a load with facility, balanced on their heads. Men usually carry much heavier weights, divided in two parcels, one of which is slung at either end of a bamboo pole balanced on the shoulder. Invariably when the load is heavy (a hundred pounds or so) the man with the shoulder bar proceeds at a short run, almost a trot, and he keeps up this pace without ever slowing down to a walk. The idea is not to get there more quickly; but the motion of the trot vibrates the pliant shoulder-bar, so that the weights at either end swing up and down, thus relieving the pressure on the shoulder. This pace however has become customary to people heavily laden, and a woman bearing on her head one of the large offerings of rice, fruit, and cakes (often a cone four or five feet high) will proceed with the same accelerated steps that the men use under their heavy shoulder-bars.

A test of the evenness of the habitual pace, kept up over long distances, came on the occasion of an annual ceremony at a temple on the southernmost shore. A Balinese whose house stood next to

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that now things were getting worse, and that the place should by all means be purified by a great *metjaroe* ceremony, to drive away the demons and bad spirits who were growing bolder. Falling is a shock which upsets the nice balance of well-being, just as the feeling of a rush of blood to the head in an inverted position is uncomfortable, and must therefore be wrong.[2*] Fathers and grandfathers who hold their young children in their laps for hours at a time never swing them about nor cast them in the air as ours are apt to do. Men and women will always endeavor to keep their erect posture, their even pace, their absolute balance, regardless of obstacles in the way, and to cultivate this tendency in the child. White men who scamper down a hillside, in excess of good spirits and momentum, or who leap over a stream, will always evoke laughter in the Balinese who walks sedately on, stepping into the water as if it did not exist, so long as the even measure of his gait is not interrupted. Because his feet are bare and the water warm, there would seem to be no reason to exert himself to jump over the stream. If it were not that the Balinese never jump, one would say that their habits are only better adjusted than ours to a climate uniformly hot, where it is better to conserve one's energy for those exertions required in the daily work. But the systematic avoidance of all shocks and pains and disturbances of the circulation of the blood characteristic of all adult Balinese would indicate that a more specialized consciousness of the body is involved. And this theory is supported by the fact that the average Balinese, although he has plentiful supplies of distilled arak and palm-wine, does not like to get drunk. The feeling of confusion, the lack of his usual surefootedness and sense of equilibrium, are so unpleasant to him that he does not often risk the experience. And the whirling of the universe which precedes nausea is positively terrifying. Then he is indeed *lost*.

Malay people have a term for the sensation of being lost, *keliru*. In the Balinese language the word is *paling*. To be *paling*, they say, is "not to know where North is"; in other words, he is *paling* who has lost his sense of direction, or who has lost the sense of his own position in relation to the geography of his world. One man whom I knew was taken for a trip in a motor car. He fell asleep during the

[2*] The Balinese do not express in words the idea that to upset balance is wrong, but they do express it in their affective response. A look of pain, of fear, or of anxiety appears on the face of an adult who tumbles, or of a child who is held upside down, which far surpasses in feeling the response we should expect, and is comparable only to the responses called out by other "wrongs" against the social and religious laws.

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ride. When the car stopped, he awoke, and leaping out, looked about him desperately, crying, "Where's North, where's North? I'm *paling*."

So accustomed are the Balinese to know where they are in relation to the points of the compass that all instructions of direction are given in these terms, rather than in "right and left," or such designations as "towards me," "away from the wall," etc. The Balinese says "when you come to the cross-roads, take the turn to the West"; "pull the table southward"; "he passed me going North"—not "going towards the market"; even among musicians, "hit the key to the East of the one you are hitting." When for any reason this sense of direction is temporarily lost, when, as we phrase it, a man feels "turned around," he is not only uncomfortable but he is quite unable to function. We once sent a small boy of eight to a distant village where he was to learn to dance, living in the house of his teacher. Riding in the car, the child lost his sense of direction. When we visited him three days later, he had not begun his lessons, for he was still *paling*. "How can I tell him to turn to the East, to advance towards the North, when he is *paling?*" said the teacher. The boy was returned to his village, where, once on familiar ground, he found himself. After several days he went back to the house of the teacher, intently watching every curve of the winding road. But it was no good—he was again *paling*. He grew anxious, and was unable to eat and sleep. Then someone thought of taking him out into the fields, where he could see the high cone of the Goenoeng Agoeng, the highest mountain, rising to North. He was cured of his trouble on the spot, and had no recurrence of it during the six weeks of his stay in the village. He seemed happy there and made great progress with his dancing.[8]

As a rule the small children are not bothered with the responsibility of direction, for they play within the circumscribed limits of the particular *bandjar* (division of the village) which is theirs, or in the outlying rice-fields. On this ground they are at home. When they visit other villages they go in the company of their parents or near relatives, an older brother or cousin, who knows the way. But their

[8] It is probable that an important factor in what we know as homesickness is the dislocation of the sense of direction in unfamiliar surroundings. In the life of the civilized being, who continually moves about and changes the habitual interior from which he orients himself, this sense must be seriously disturbed. Wild animals seem to be perfectly oriented. And domesticated animals manifest uneasiness and make definite attempts to orient themselves, or to return to familiar surroundings, when they are removed from one place to another.

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Behavior at the Plays

Whenever there is a performance of dancing, drama, or the shadow-show, the entire village attends. The audience is packed closely around the four sides of the "stage"—an oblong of level ground marked off with bamboos. The first arrivals squat as near as possible, folded up into the least possible space and pressed against each other, the late comers stand in rows eight or ten deep at the back, the rear-most able to catch only an occasional glimpse of a performer's headdress. In this tight formation the audience remains from the beginning, which for a play may be anywhere between the hours of nine and midnight, to the end which comes about dawn. The whole temper of the audience is, from the actor's standpoint, ideal—watching, concentrated as one man, happy and pleasantly disposed in the warm contact of a large group of their kind, in festive mood, ready to enjoy themselves to the utmost. On the appearance of a hero, particularly graceful and gorgeous in his attire, a whispered "Bèh!" of admiration issues from a hundred mouths; and when the clowns cavort, or a rough joke is made, the entire audience rocks with mirth, the high shrieks of the women's laughter rising above the guffaws of the men. The smallest children, from two or three years upward, constitute the first rows of the audience surrounding the stage. They arrive long before the performers have any thought of beginning, and sit, in quiet expectancy, sometimes for several hours before the play begins. If for any reason a child arrives late, he will with confidence squeeze his way through the crowd, pushing past people of higher rank and superior in age, to a good place in the very front. During the performance, the children watch every detail of the action with intentness.[5] Generally even the tiniest ones stay through the night, although they fall asleep for hours at a time, and only manage to wake up for the most exciting parts, battles, or the enacting of bewitchment.

Older boys and girls, especially those who have passed adolescence, come to the performance in groups of two or three friends.

[5] In connection with the close integration of the Balinese children with the life of their elders, one sees a parallel with the gentle and maternal Arapesh people, as described by Margaret Mead. She says of their children, ". . . games are played very seldom. More often the times when children are together in large enough groups to make a game worth while are the occasions of a feast, there is dancing and adult ceremonial, and they find the rôle of spectatorship far more engrossing." And again, ". . . early experience accustoms them to be part of the whole picture, to prefer to any active child-life of their own a passive part that is integrated with the life of the community" (*Sex and Temperament*, New York, William Morrow and Company, 1935, pp. 57-58).

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selves, they take part with enthusiasm in the elaborate preparation of offerings and the decoration of the temples, they enjoy to the utmost presentations of dancing, music, and drama, which the religion prescribes. It is significant that the audience for these presentations takes as much delight in them as the performers. Their own arts are to them completely satisfying, a fulfillment in the life of the people for whom they have been evolved. At such festivals one is impressed by the joyousness, the gayety with which the Balinese seem carried away. And just as these joyous occasions punctuate the dreary round of everyday life, so do the occasions of wild frenzy break into it, affording the individual a necessary release. If it were not for these organized departures from the habitual tempo, it would not be possible for the individual to conform, at all other times, to the rigid order of behavior which is exacted from him. And therefore we must recognize the two aspects, the quiet, relaxed, and peaceful tenor of the private life, and the intense and spontaneous exaltation of group activity, both of which are essential to the Balinese temper.

Interpretation

In conclusion, perhaps it will be well to stress once more the ease and relaxation in the ordinary behavior of the Balinese, so that an impression will not be left that any strain is caused by need to maintain a balanced equilibrium and a perfect orientation in social and geographical respects. On the contrary, the rules by which they abide seem to supply a simplication of behavior. For the Balinese life is divided into two phases quite opposed to those of the modern city dweller in our world; the Balinese works in relaxation, and in his pleasure finds intense stimulation, whereas our city dweller works under a strain of intense stimulation, and for his pleasure seeks relaxation. If there should be any doubt of the difference in tension between the two psychological types, let us imagine how the city dweller would react to certain conditions in Balinese life, as, for instance, living in a courtyard shared by ten or fifteen members of his immediate family, divided only by pavilions without walls; or sleeping in such close proximity as has been described, with a number of others; or enjoying a dramatic performance lasting for eight or nine hours, crouched in a press of bodies comparable only to one of our subway jams. These things do not offend nor put any strain upon the Balinese, because of the relaxation of his mood. Likewise

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Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure

CLIFFORD GEERTZ
Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

AS ALL things Balinese, Balinese villages are peculiar, complicated, and extraordinarily diverse. There is no simple uniformity of social structure to be found over the whole of the small, crowded countryside, no straightforward form of village organization easily pictured in terms of single typological construction, no "average" village, a description of which may well stand for the whole. Rather, there is a set of marvelously complex social systems, no one of which is quite like any other, no one of which fails to show some marked peculiarity of form. Even contiguous villages may be quite differently organized; formal elements—such as caste or kinship—of central importance in one village may be of marginal significance in another; and each of the twenty-five or so villages sampled in the Tabanan and Klungkung regions of south Bali in 1957 —a total area of only some 450 square miles— showed important structural features in some sense idiosyncratic with respect to the others.[1] Neither simplicity nor uniformity are Balinese virtues.

Yet all these small-scale social systems are clearly of a family. They represent variations, however intricate, on a common set of organizational themes, so that what is constant in Balinese village structure is the set of components out of which it is constructed, not the structure itself. These components are in themselves discrete, more or less independent of one another: the Balinese village is in no sense a corporate territorial unit coordinating all aspects of life in terms of residence and land ownership, as peasant villages have commonly been described, but it is rather a compound of social structures, each based on a different principle of social affiliation and adjusted to one another only insofar as seems essential. It is this multiple, composite nature of Balinese village structure which makes possible its high degree of variation while maintaining a general formal type, for the play between the several discrete structural forms is great enough to allow a wide range of choice as to the mode of their integration with one another in any particular instance. Like so many organic compounds composed of the same molecules arranged in different configurations, Balinese villages display a wide variation in structure on the basis of a set of invariant fundamental ingredients.

Perhaps the best systematic formulation of this type of village structure is to conceptualize it in terms of the intersection of theoretically separable planes of social organization. Each such plane consists of a set of social institutions based on a wholly different principle of affiliation, a different manner of grouping individuals or keeping them apart. In any particular village all important planes will be present, but the way in which they are adjusted to one another, the way in which they intersect, will differ, for there is no clear princi-

[1] [See pp. 1011-1012, category 116, for footnotes.—Analyst]

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there is but one, most often two or three. Sometimes there are as many as four or five, usually reflecting either a large bandjar or one sharply segmented into strong kin or other subgroups, in which all important cross-cutting minorities must be given a role in bandjar leadership. Nowadays klian are usually elected for five years and then replaced by a new set, often chosen by the outgoing group with the approval of the bandjar meeting, so as to avoid electioneering. Klian are assisted by various lesser officials, whose jobs are usually rotated monthly among the members of the bandjar. Though the klian lead the discussion at the bandjar meeting, hold the public treasury, direct communal work, and commonly are men of some weight in the local community they are not possessed of much formal authority. In line with the general Balinese tendency to disperse power very thinly, to dislike and distrust people who project themselves above the group as a whole, and to be very jealous of the rights of the public as a corporate group, the klian are in a very literal sense more servants of the bandjar than its masters, and most of them are extraordinarily cautious about taking any action not previously approved in the hamlet meeting. Klian, who are unpaid and have no special perquisites, feel that their position mainly earns them the right to work harder for the public and be more abused by it; wearily, they compare their job to that of a man caring for male ducks: like the drake, the bandjar produces lots of squawks but no eggs.

3. Ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed. Unlike peasant societies in most parts of the world, there is in Bali almost no connection between the ownership and management of cultivable land on the one hand and local political (i.e., hamlet) organization on the other. The irrigation society, or *subak*, regulates all matters having to do with the cultivation of wet rice and it is a wholly separate organization from the bandjar. "We have two sorts of custom," say the Balinese, "dry customs for the hamlet, wet ones for the irrigation society."

Subak are organized according to the water system: all individuals owning land which is irrigated from a single water source—a single dam and canal running from dam to fields—belong to a single subak. Subak whose direct water sources are branches of a common larger dam and canal form larger and less tightly knit units, and finally the entire watershed of one river system forms an overall, but even looser, integrative unit. As Balinese land ownership is quite fragmented, a man's holding typically consisting of two or three quarter- or half-acre plots scattered about the countryside, often at some distance from his home, the members of one subak almost never hail from a single hamlet, but from ten or fifteen different ones; while from the point of view of the hamlet, members of a single bandjar will commonly own land in a large number of subak. Thus as the spatial distribution of temples sets the boundaries on Balinese religious organization, and the nucleated settlement pattern forms the physical framework for political organization, so the concrete outline of the Balinese irrigation system of simple stone and clay dams, mud-lined canals and tunnels, and bamboo water dividers provides the context within which Balinese agricultural activities are organized.

Though organizational details and terminology differ widely from region to

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591 611 428 in his own patriline, as a woman does at marriage in the normal case, and moves to his wife's home to live. As this almost always occurs in cases where male heirs are lacking, Balinese genealogies show a noticeable ambilineal element, in that a certain percentage of the ties are traced through women rather than men.

592 The basic residential unit is the *pekarangan* or walled house compound, which in kinship terms may house groups which range from a simple nuclear family up to a three or more generation extended patri-family. Typically two or three nuclear families, often with various unattached or aged patri-relatives, occupy a single pekarangan, but occasionally compounds with as many as ten or fifteen families, related through a common paternal grandfather may be found, particularly among the upper caste groups. In addition to being a residential unit, the compound is a very important religious unit, for each compound group supports a small temple in the northeast corner of the yard dedicated to its direct ancestors at which twice yearly ceremonials must be given. Finally, the compound is usually divided into kitchens, called *kuren*, typically one nuclear family to a kitchen, but sometimes two or three, and it is this kitchen group which is the basic kin unit from the point of view of all superordinate social institutions: it is the kuren which is taxed for the Kahyangan-Tiga temples, which is allotted a seat in the meeting house, which must send a worker to repair the dam or participate in the harvest, which is the rice-field owning unit, and so on.

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614 621 Above the compound and the kitchen one commonly finds, within any given hamlet, from one to ten or so (largely but not entirely) endogamous corporate kin groups called *dadia*.[3] Such dadia are basically ritual units, but they may also act as collective work groups for various social and economic tasks, may provide the main framework for informal social intercourse outside the immediate family for its members, may serve as an undivided unit in the local stratification hierarchy, and may form a well-integrated faction within the general hamlet political system. The degree to which it takes on these general social functions differs rather widely from village to village. In some villages dadia organization is the central focus of social life, the axis around which it revolves; in others it is of relatively secondary importance; and in a few villages, especially semi-urbanized ones, dadia may not exist at all.

Rarely is the whole hamlet population organized into dadia, and sometimes only a definite minority will be. This is so because of the manner in which dadia are formed. When a family line begins to grow in size, wealth, and local political power, it begins to feel, as a consequence of what is probably the central Balinese social value, status pride, a necessity for a more intensified public expression of what it takes to be its increased importance within the hamlet. At this point the various households which compose the line will join together under a chief elected from among them to build themselves a larger ancestral temple. This temple will usually be built on public, hamlet-owned land, rather than within the confines of one of the houseyards, thus symbolizing the fact

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sons inheriting the fathers' memberships. Some of them build up quite sizeable treasuries and profits to divide among the members, some have yearly feasts of celebration, others even lend their earnings at interest.

As seka loyalty is a major value in Balinese culture, these voluntary groups are not just peripheral organizations but a basic part of Balinese social life. Almost every Balinese belongs to three or four private seka of this sort, and the alliances formed in them balance off those formed in the more formally organized sectors of Balinese social structure in the complex cross-cutting social integration characteristic of the island. From one point of view, all of Balinese social organization can be seen as a set of formal and voluntary seka intersecting with one another in diverse ways.

7. *Common legal subordination to a single government administrative official.* In addition to hamlet, irrigation society, and Kahyangan-Tiga temple organization, there is another sort of territorial unit at the rural level which stems from the organization of the Indonesian governmental bureaucracy as it reaches down into the Balinese countryside. This is the *perbekelan*, so called because it is headed by an official called a *Perbekel*. Before the Revolution the Perbekel was appointed by his Colonial superiors; since it, he is elected by his constituency. He still serves until either he retires or a movement to unseat him develops. He is always a local man, in most cases set apart from his neighbors only in having somewhat more education (although in line with the traditions of Balinese statecraft, higher titled people tend to be preferred for the role). He has under him anywhere from two to a half dozen *Pengliman*, also local men, also elected, each with his own bailiwick within the perbekelan. Both Perbekel and Pengliman are paid, but not very well, by the Government according to the number of kitchens in their domain. As it is through them that the policy directives, propaganda exhortations, and social welfare activities of the Djakarta political elite filter down to the mass of the peasantry and from them that reports on local conditions start back up, they form a kind of rural civil service, a miniature administrative bureaucracy constructed out of local elements.

As might be expected, the arbitrarily drawn boundaries of perbekelan do not, save in the odd case, coincide with any other unit in Balinese society, past or present; rather, they group from four to ten hamlets into what seemed to logical, efficient Dutch administrators to be logical, efficient administrative units. The result is that the hamlets involved not only may have no traditional ties with one another but may even be traditionally antagonistic, while other hamlets of long and continuing association may be separated by perbekelan boundaries. The Perbekel is thus placed in a rather anomalous position for, although his superiors tend to regard him as a "village chief" and expect him to have important traditionally based executive powers, his constituents tend to regard him as a government clerk and consequently not directly concerned with local political processes at all, the direction of which they conceive to lie in the interlocked hands of the temple, hamlet, irrigation society, kin group, and voluntary organization chiefs. The Perbekel is not governing an organic unit, but one which in most cases feels rather little internal solidarity at all and,